

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 DAR ES 03320 101225Z

46

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

----- 056677

O 101130Z SEP 76 ZFF-4

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2631

S E C R E T DAR ES SALAAM 3320

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY

DEPT PASS AMBASSADOR SCHAUFLE

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: NYERERE MEMORANDUM ON NAMIBIA

1. THE FOLLOWING CONFIDENTIAL "MEMORANDUM ON NAMIBIA" WAS
DELIVERED TO ME SEPTEMBER 10 BY MESSENGER FROM PRESIDENT NYERERE
TO PASS TO THE SECRETARY.

BEGIN TEXT. MEMORANDUM ON NAMIBIA

1. THREE POLITICAL FACTS HAVE TO BE RECOGNIZED:
(A) NAMIBIA IS A UNITED NATIONS TRUSTEESHIP TERRITORY;
THE UNITED NATIONS HAS REASSERTED IT DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY
FOR THE TERRITORY, AND DECLARED SOUTH AFRICAN OCCUPATION TO
BE ILLEGAL.

(B) THE U.N. HAS RECOGNISEC SWAPO AS THE ONLY NATIONALIST
MOVEMENT OF NAMIBIA. SO HAS THE O.A.U.

(C) SOUTH AFRICA IS IN DE FACTO OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA.

2. THE THREE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS IN ACHIEVING A PEACEFUL
SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA ARE THEREFORE: THE UNITED NATIONS;
SWAPO; AND SOUTH AFRICA. ANY CONFERENCE TO WORK OUT THE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 DAR ES 03320 101225Z

TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA DEPENDS UPON A

MEETING OF OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVES OF THESE THREE BODIES.

3. THE COMPOSITION OF THE DELEGATIONS OF EACH OF THESE GROUPS IS A MATTER FOR EACH OF THEM TO DETERMINE. THERE CAN BE NO OBJECTION TO SOUTH AFRICA INCLUDING IN ITS DELEGATION PEOPLE WHO WERE PRESENT AT THE 'CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE' IN WINDHOEK. NOR CAN ANY RESTRICTION BE PLACED ON THE RIGHT OF SWAPO TO INCLUDE IN ITS DELEGATION MEMBERS OR ASSOCIATES FROM INSIDE OR OUTSIDE NAMIBIA - INCLUDING ANY WHO ARE AT PRESENT IN SOUTH AFRICAN PRISONS. THE FORM OF PARTICIPATION BY THE UNITED NATIONS WOULD PRESUMABLY BE DISCUSSED WITH THE U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL.

4. IT IS IMMATERIAL WHETHER THE CONFERENCE IN GENEVA IS PUBLICLY CALLED A 'RECONSTITUTED' OR 'RESUMED' WINDHOEK CONFERENCE BY THE SOUTH AFRICANS.

5. IT IS VITAL THAT EVERYONE SHOULD PRIVATELY UNDERSTAND THAT THE REAL PARTICIPANTS IN SUCH A CONFERENCE ARE SWAPO, SOUTH AFRICA, AND THE UNITED NATIONS, AND THAT NO MEANINGFUL CONCLUSIONS CAN BE REACHED BY SUCH A MEETING WITHOUT THEIR AGREEMENT.

6. ONLY WITH AN ASSURANCE THAT THIS IS PRIVATELY UNDERSTOOD, AT LEAST BY THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN, CAN SWAPO BE EXPECTED TO ATTEND A MEETING WITH SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES. FOR PUBLIC CONSUMPTION, THE SOUTH AFRICANS MAY WISH TO TALK OF SWAPO BEING ONE OF MANY NAMIBIAN PARTICIPANTS. AS FAR AS AFRICA IS CONCERNED, SWAPO IS THE ONLY MEANINGFUL NAMIBIAN PARTICIPANT. SWAPO NEEDS THE ASSURANCE THAT AFRICA'S POSITION IS SHARED BY THE UNITED STATES, EVEN IF THIS IS NOT PUBLICLY STATED AT THE PRESENT TIME.

9TH SEPTEMBER 1976

J.K.N.

END TEXT.

2. COMMENT: WHILE NYERERE SEEMS TO BE SHARPENING HIS CONDITIONS AND ASSUMPTIONS ON NAMIBIA, HE IS PROBABLY ALSO INSPIRED BY HIS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 DAR ES 03320 101225Z

USUAL GENUINE DESIRE AVOID MISUNDERSTANDINGS. FROM MY LIMITED PERSPECTIVE, MEMO DOES NOT NEGATE AMBASSADOR SCHAUFEL'S CONCLUSION PARA 10 DAR ES SALAAM 3280 THAT YOUR VISIT CAN PROCEED "WITH REASONABLE HOPES FROM AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE OF SUCCESS ON NAMIBIA.

SPAIN

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INDEPENDENCE, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, BRIEFING MATERIALS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, NEGOTIATIONS, MINISTERIAL VISITS, CAT-C, CHEROKEE 09/10/76
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 SEP 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: saccheem
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976DARES03320
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: FOR AMBASSADOR SCHAUFELLE
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: P840084-0470
From: DAR ES SALAAM
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760974/aaaac1bq.tel
Line Count: 113
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: saccheem
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12 MAY 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <13 SEP 2004 by saccheem>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NYERERE MEMORANDUM ON MANIBIA
TAGS: PFOR, OVIP, PDEV, WA, SF, US, TZ, UN, SWAPO, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (NYERERE, JULIUS K)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006